/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yáhaleckwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.

8: Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.
423 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

● 582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/183 cont./

say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname. According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men. Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

All these traits make us think that possibly there were patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of stereotyped conduct,